Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

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FOR SECRETARY AND HOLBROOKE ONLY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PFOR, OREP (BRADEMAS), CH, US, TW
SUBJ: CODEL BRADEMAS: CHINESE READ DEMARCHE ON DELEGATION PRESS CONFERENCE REMARKS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. THE CHINESE HOST ORGANIZATION ON APRIL 13 READ TO CONGRESSMAN BRADEMAS AND SENATOR SCHWEIKER A PREPARED DEMARCHE CONCERNING THEIR REPORTED REMARKS AT AN APRIL 12 INFORMAL PRESS CONFERENCE. THE DEMARCHE CHALLENGED THE DELEGATION'S USE OF THE TERM "REPUBLIC OF CHINA" AND EXPRESSION OF BELIEF THAT AMERICAN
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PUBLIC OPINION WOULD NOT SUPPORT SEVERANCE OF US-TAIWAN TIES. CONG. BRADEMAS, ANNOYED BY THE FORM AND CONTENT OF THIS PROTEST, DENIED THAT HE OR OTHERS HAD MENTIONED THE "REPUBLIC OF CHINA," CRITICIZED CHINESE RELIANCE ON VOA NEWS ACCOUNTS, AND DEFENDED HIS READING OF THE MOOD OF THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE. AT THE RETURN BANQUET IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE DEMARCHE, NANCY TANG EMPHASIZED TO AMBASSADOR GATES THAT THE CHINESE CONSIDERED

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THEMSELVES OBLIGED TO "MAKE CLEAR" TO ALL THEIR POSITION ON "TWO-CHINAS" THINKING. WHILE THE BANQUET ATMOSPHERE WAS INITIALLY STRAINED, THE CHINESE AT THE END INDICATED THAT THE INCIDENT WAS CONSIDERED "A CLOSED BOOK." WE ACCEPT AT FACE VALUE THE CHINESE CONTENTION THAT THEY BELIEVE IT NECESSARY TO COUNTER ANY EVIDENCE OF "TWO-CHINAS" THINKING. TO DO OTHERWISE, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF PARTICIPATION BY THE PRESIDENT'S SON ON THE FIRST EXCHANGE DELEGATION OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, WOULD WEAKEN CREDIBILITY OF THE PRC'S NEGOTIATING POSTURE ON TAIWAN AND BOLSTER ANY IN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION WHO MIGHT CLAIM THAT A PRC "SOFTENING" ON TAIWAN IS POSSIBLE AND PERCEPTIBLE. END SUMMARY.

2. DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL KANG TAI-SHA OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (CPIFA), HOST ORGANIZATION FOR CODEL BRADEMAS, SUMMONED DELEGATION CO-LEADERS CONG. BRADEMAS AND SEN. SCHWEIKER TO A MEETING JUST PRIOR TO THE SCHEDULED RETURN BANQUET ON APRIL 13. WE UNDERSTAND THAT MADAME KANG READ FROM A PREPARED DEMARCHE CONVEYING CHINESE DISPLEASURE AT REMARKS ATTRIBUTED TO THE CO-LEADERS DURING AN INFORMAL PRESS CONFERENCE CALLED THE PRECEDING DAY AT BRADEMAS' INITIATIVE. (NSC STAFF MEMBER OKSENBERG PARTICIPATED IN THE MEETING AS NOTETAKER AND HAS A TEXT OF THE DEMARCHE. OUR INFORMATION IS BASED ON ORAL ACCOUNTS BY BRADEMAS AND OKSENBERG.

3. CITING AN APRIL 13 VIA NEWS ITEM ON THE PRESS CONFERENCE, THE DEMARCHE TOOK STRONG EXCEPTION TO:
--USE OF THE TERM "REPUBLIC OF CHINA" BY ONE OR MORE OF THE DELEGATION
--BRADEMAS' OBSERVATION THAT AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION WOULD NOT
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SUPPORT SEVERANCE OF US TIES WITH TAIWAN.
THE DEMARCHE CHARACTERIZED SUCH VIEWS AND TERMINOLOGY AS EXEMPLIFYING TWO-CHINA THINKING WHICH IS IN DIRECT CONTRAVENTION OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE.

4. CONG. BRADEMAS AND SEN. SCHWEIKER REACTED WITH CONSIDERABLE ANNOYANCE TO BOTH THE FORM AND CONTENT OF THE CHINESE DEMARCHE. BRADEMAS REBUTTED THE ALLEGATIONS:
--HE DENIED CATEGORICALLY THAT HE OR OTHERS HAD MENTIONED THE "REPUBLIC OF CHINA";
--HE POINTED OUT THAT A BRIEF VOA NEWS ITEM CULLING FROM VARIOUS WIRE SERVICES WAS AN INAPPROPRIATE VEHICLE ON WHICH TO PIN A FORMAL DEMARCHE; AND
--HE DEFENDED HIS CHARACTERIZATION OF AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION AS REGARDS TAIWAN, STRESSING THAT HE HAD BEEN STATING NOT HIS PERSONAL POLICY VIEWS BUT RATHER HIS READING OF THE CURRENT MOOD OF THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE.

5. RATHER HEATED DISCUSSION CONTINUED FOR SOME THIRTY MINUTES,

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DELAYING THE START OF THE BANQUET. IN THE MEANTIME, A CPIFA PROTOCOL OFFICIAL ADVISED USLO OFFICERS THAT THREE CHINESE GUESTS -- TWO NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (NPC) MEMBERS AND A REPORTER -- WOULD NOT ATTEND THE BANQUET OWING TO "ILLNESS" AND "OTHER ENGAGEMENTS." RANKING CHINESE GUESTS FROM THE CPIFA, NPC AND FOREIGN MINISTRY -- WHO HAD NOT THEMSELVES BEEN PRESENT WHILE THE DEMARCHE WAS READ -- ARRIVED SOME FORTY MINUTES LATE.

6. IN DINNER CONVERSATION, MFA AMERICAN AND OCEANIAN AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT DEPUTY DIRECTOR TANG WEN-SHENG (NANCY TANG) DEFENDED THE DEMARCHE TO AMBASSADOR GATES, EXPLAINING THAT THE CONGRESS-MEN HAD ABUSED CHINESE HOSPITALITY BY REFERRING TO THE "REPUBLIC OF CHINA" AND MAKING PRESSSTATEMENTS CONTRARY TO THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. ASKED BY AMBASSADOR GATES WHY THE CHINESE REACTION HAD BEEN SO QUICK AND SO SHARP, PARTICULARY WHEN CHINESE PRINCIPLES WERE SO WELL KNOWN, TANG REPLIED THAT SOME DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE CHINESE POSITION AND IT WAS THOUGHT NECESSARY TO

MAKE CLEAR THAT POSITION. TANG INDICATED THAT THE CHINESE HAD REFERRED TO VOA AND AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE (AFP) ACCOUNTS FOR THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF THE DELEGATION'S STATEMENTS TO THE PRESS.

7. WHILE INITIAL CONVERSATION AT THE BANQUET WAS SLIGHTLY STRAINED, THE TOAST DELIVERED BY HAO TEH-CHINA WAS WITTY AND NONSUBSTANTIVE. BY THE END OF THE BANQUET, THE CHINESE HAD ADVISED OKSENBERG THAT THE MATTER WAS CONSIDERED "A CLOSED BOOK." AND THE CHINESE AT THE AIRPORT ON APRIL 14 TO SEND OFF THE DELEGATION TO HANGCHOW NEITHER REFERRED TO THE INCIDENT NOR EVIDENCED ANY COOLNESS.

8. WE TENTATIVELY CONCLUDE THAT THE CHINESE PROTEST WAS TRIGGERED BY THE AFP STORY (WHICH WE HAVE NOT YET SEEN). WE HEARD NO REFERENCE ON VOA TO "THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA"; THOSE PRESENT AT THE NEWS CONFERENCE DO NOT RECALL ANY USE OF THE TERM BY DELEGATION MEMBERS; AND NOTES
TAKEN BY A REUTERS CORRESPONDENT DO NOT CONTAIN ANY USE OF THE TERM. REUTERS FILED A STORY, HOWEVER, QUOTING BRADEMAS AS STATING "WELL, I DON'T THINK AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION AT THIS STAGE OF THE GAME WOULD TOLERATE US WALKING AWAY FROM TAIWAN." WE HAVE BEEN PROMISED A TAPE OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE AND SHALL REQUEST A TRANSCRIPT OF THE VOA BROADCAST; WE WILL REPORT BY SEPTEL ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

9. COMMENT: WE ACCEPT AT FACE VALUE NANCY TANG'S FIRM REJOINDER TO AMBASSADOR GATES THAT THE CHINESE BELIEVE THEY MUST "MAKE CLEAR" THEIR POSITION TAIWAN SO THAT "ALL" ARE AWARE OF IT. HENCE VICE PREMIER LI HSIEN-NIEN POINTEDLY AND CAUSTICALLY DISREGARDED AMERICAN PRESS INFATUATION WITH "INDICATORS" OF A "SOFTENING" PRC STANCE ON TAIWAN. AND "UNOFFICIAL" CHINESE ORGANIZATIONS

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SUCH AS THE CPIFA, PRESUMABLY ACTING ON IRONCLAD POLICY GUIDANCE, RITUALLY CASTIGATE EACH AND EVERY AMERICAN DELEGATION GUILDY -- IN CHINESE EYES -- OF LAPSES INTO "TWO-CHINA THINKING" THIS IS NOT NEW; THE SAME ISSUE AROSE AND THE SAME LECTURE ENSUED SEVERAL TIMES LAST YEAR IN CONNECTION WITH UNINHIBITED STATEMENTS BY
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SCHOLAR-ESCORTS ATTACHED TO EXCHANGE DELEGATIONS.

10. THE CHINESE PRESUMABLY CALCULATE THAT GAINS FROM SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT -- AND ESTABLISHING A TOUGH NEGOTIATING POSTURE- OUTWEIGH LOSSES FROM WOUNDED SENSIBILITIES AND BRUISED EGOS. IN THIS THEY ARE QUITE PROBABLY MISTAKEN. CONGRESSMAN BRADEMAS, SEN. SCHWEIKER AND OTHERS MAKE NO BONES OF THEIR CONTINUING ANGER OVER THE CHINESE DEMARCHE; THEY ARE NOT LIKELY TO BE MORE KINDLY DISPOSED TO THE PRC AND TO NORMALIZATION AS A RESULT.

11. ANOTHER FACTOR PROBABLY ENTERED INTO THE CHINESE CALCULATIONS ON PRESENTING THIS PARTICULAR DEMARCHE: CHIP CARTER'S PRESENCE ON THE FIRST EXCHANGE DELEGATION OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION INVESTS CODEL BRADEMAS WITH SPECIAL POLITICAL AND SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE. TO HAVE LET PASS AN INTIMATION OF "TWO-CHINA THINKING," THE CHINESE MAY HAVE REASONED, WOULD SURELY HAVE BEEN NOTED, CONVEYED DIRECTLY TO PRESIDENT CARTER, AND MISCONSTRUED AS A DELIBERATE SIGNAL OF "SOFTENING" ON TAIWAN.
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